192 IMPONGANO. A cow given to appease the anger of the king or
231 one of the provincial chiefs.
431 2) A cow given to a friend of the Mwami to thank him for his intervention with the king.

IZIMANO. The first time a great provincial chief goes to visit another, the host gives his guest a milch cow.

Similarly, if the king or a provincial chief visits one of their abagaragu, he is given a calf.

INJISHYWA. A cow that accompanies a noble Mututsi when he visits a provincial chief or the Mwami on business or to pay homage. It is meant to provide him with the milk necessary for food.

427 INDAGIZO. (2). A cow which the depositor (uwaragije) entrusts
192
231

> 2. From kulagiza, "to give on trust in order to pasture."

to someone who owns a better pasture than his, but the trustee (uwaragiywe) does not become umugaragu. The latter must return the cow when it has calved, but he has the right to the milk for two months if the cow is young, and for a fortnight if it is not. If the calf dies, the trustee has the right to the milk one day out of four.

[55]

231 INTAHIRA (1). This is the best of the cows held by an umugaragu.
192

> 1. From gutahira, "to come in front," "to precede," "to lead."

He always makes it walk at the head of the herd. The holder can take its milk (intagemura, lit., to keep the milk for one's self), but the calves must return to the owner.

192 INGWATE. Primus, who owns a bull calf (inguzwa) or a sterile
231 cow (also inguzwa), asks Secundus, who has a heifer (ingwate), if he is
437 willing to exchange on the following conditions:

a) If the heifer has a female calf (umukangara), Primus will keep it and its mother for a length of time to be agreed upon, usually two years. Secundus will then take back the cow and its calf and in addition will keep the inguzwa.

192 437 231 b) If the heifer has a male calf, Secundus takes it at once and Primus keeps the mother for two years. The milk is divided between the two contracting parties as follows: Secundus has the right to the milk for four days, Primus for two days, and the shepherd one day a week.

c) If the heifer dies before having a calf, Primus takes the skin and Secundus keeps the inguzwa. To avoid leaving the heifer with Primus for two years, Secundus gives the other contracting party a pregnant cow (ingenzura) and takes back the ingwate and its young (female or male calf). There are then two possibilities:

a) The ingenzura bears a female calf; Primus claims it.

1) Secundus accepts and takes back the ingenzura.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf, and does not give any of the milk until another cow is given him. [56]

b) The ingenzura gives birth to a male calf.

1) Secundus agrees to give Primus an umukangara and takes back the cow and its calf.

2) Secundus refuses. Primus keeps the ingenzura and its calf. He will return the calf only after it is weaned. He waits for the cow to have a female calf.

IGICHANIRO (1). Primus who wishes to have a bull calf gives all his cows as a pledge (kugwatiriza) to Secundus, yet keeps them at his home. After two years, Primus gives a female calf to Secundus. If he refuses, Secundus would have the right to take a milch cow (gukubitira).

1. The igichaniro is, strictly speaking, the fire lit in the kraal to protect the cows from the cold.

If the contract concerns goats, the fact that Secundus pays himself if Primus refuses is called gufatira.

192 431 231 INDABUKIRANO (2). 1) At the accession of the king, his abagaragu and all the provincial chiefs must each give one or two cows in homage to the king.

2. From kurabukira, "to offer an accession gift to the king."

2) When an umutware w'intebe, an ichibiri, or an igisonga (3)

3. Cf. Government and Administration, Political Divisions, p. 85.

192
234 supply them with milk. In Kinyaga (Shangugu) and in Bugoyi, it is
574 called umuheto. In Ndorwa it is called kibere. [58]

IMBYUKURUKE. A choice cow destined to be shown to a visiting high personage and to provide him with milk during his stay.

192
431 IBIHEMBO. Gift of cows to the wife of the king, a great chief,
231 or a patron when she has a child.

The gift made by the Bahutu consisting simply of milk or beer is called y'ibihembo.

192
231 INTIZO (1). 1) A man who has been despoiled by his chief re-
426

1. From gutiza, "to lend."

ceives a cow from a friend as a loan (intizo) until justice is done. The friend may perhaps only give him milk (intizo), because by sending a cow he would ostensibly show his friendship and would thus risk incurring the wrath of the chief.

192
231 2) A cattle owner must give at least one milch cow to his cowherd (umushumba) who does not have time to cultivate for himself.

[465] 3) A Muhutu who cultivates the fields of a Mututsi receives milk (intizo) from him morning and evening.

4) A cow is given to two farmers who share the milk and the payments required in exchange (2).

2. Milking a cow is equal to the salary for one day of cultivation.

[681] IMPONGANO. A cow given in reparation for an offense or as a
431] present to the one (inshuti) whose intervention may help to win the lawsuit.

[696] INGURANO. A redemption cow given by a patron or the head of a family to keep the guilty one from being condemned. [59]

192
437 INKUNGURANYO (1). Primus, owner of a heifer approaches
231

1. From gukunguranya, "to exchange two cows of equal value definitely and irrevocably."

Secundus to ask him to exchange the cow for a female calf or for two bulls. They must not give anything in addition in order to have an absolute right over the exchanged object, but neither of them has the right to take back the exchanged value.

566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro, 443 plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares. 437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt, [435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far [301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand [435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

443 Women and children are admitted to the markets without
579 restriction.' In the past, people came armed, for they risked being robbed or even killed on the way by highway bandits.

The Lease of Services (kununga).

[465] A man may agree to work for another for 50 days, for example, at the rate of [80] one or two days a week on the condition of receiving the meat of one cow in exchange.

●437 Exchange (kuguza) (1)

1. Kuguza, lit., "to agree to give an advance."

A Mututsi asks a Muhutu for a granary of sorghum (ihundo, lit., an ear of sorghum) for example, in exchange for a bull calf or hoes (usually 30).

The Loan (gutiza)

426 The Banyarwanda distinguish the loan for use (commodatum) from the simple loan (or loan for consumption).

If the loan for use, in hoes for example, is granted without interest, the same is not true of the loan for consumption, which involves edible produce. Whoever has received a basket of sorghum or beans must usually return two. The basket of supplementary produce which must be given the lender is called kirenga.

The Guarantee (kuchyungura).

Primus owns a pruning knife which Secundus would like to borrow. Secundus does not know Primus, so he goes to Tertius, a friend of Primus. Tertius tells Primus to lend his pruning knife to Secundus and offers himself as surety if the latter does not return the tool. Tertius may eventually turn against Secundus.

This contract can be made for cows, granaries of sorghum, etc.

Security (ingwate)

Primus wishes to borrow a few baskets of beans from Secundus. But Secundus answers that he cannot give them to him without a guarantee. Primus then offers Secundus a goat, for example (2).

2. A goat is worth three hoes.

When he brings Primus the counterpart of his loan, he takes back the goat.

[81]

437 The Commission (kugerekesha) (1)

1. Kugerekesha, lit., "to add."

Primus goes to market to exchange a hoe for some beans. [Thereafter] Secundus asks him, as remuneration, to take thence one of his (Secondus') goats and exchange it for three hoes, for example.

426 The Deposit (kubitsa)

The deposit of goods not consisting of cattle involves no obligation on the part of the depositor to the depositary who agrees to keep the goods deposited with him.

These contracts are made before notables of the hill who act as witnesses. But most often they are made in front of a rugo being built or a watering trough, places where there are always many people, who in case of a dispute will give their testimony.

If one of the contractors does not meet his agreement (2)

2. In the case of absolute necessity, for example a famine or an invasion of grasshoppers, a provisional release from the obligation is allowed if the question is one of furnishing produce, sorghum or beans.

or is dishonest, the tribunal of the hill chief, on complaint of the injured party, would force him to discharge (3) his debt (4).

3. Kwishyuza, "to claim payment"; kwishyura, "to pay."

4. Umwenda, "material."

The creditor has the option of taking a pledge, a goat for example, to oblige the debtor to pay.

If the latter cannot pay, he is condemned to work to indemnify the plaintif, usually two days out of five (5); but he can be replaced

5. Cf. p. 29, note 1.

804 177 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.

[436] The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 433 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is [437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery 463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is 462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on 563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

231 In the herdsman aristocracy of Ruanda the Muhutu must always yield to the cow. Cows have crowded out the Bahutu in certain parts of Ufumbiro, and they definitely eliminated the farmers from Mulera's lava plain. They depopulated the region around Nyanza. We can say, therefore, that cows are a powerful factor in shaping the landscape of Ruanda.

231 Transactions involving the cow play a very important part
●437 in economic life and judicial practices in Ruanda. These transactions take many forms.

[144] There is the simple sale where the price is paid at once or in installments (in goats). I also learned of another type of sale. The owner of two young bulls exchanges them for the unborn calf of a certain cow. If the calf is born a male, they wait for the next one. This transaction is known as kwatiriza. In kwatiriza, the milk, after the first two months during which the herdsman gets it, is divided between the buyer of the calf and the owner of the cow. However, there are often arrangements whereby half or even all the milk is simply bought up by someone.

Cows are for sale only in Mulera where they belong to Bahutu. Batutsi sell only young bulls. Calving cows are under no circumstances disposed of; they are only granted in feudal tenure. Even large bulls (mfizi) are not sold. I was repeatedly told that they cannot even be granted.

231 Goats are raised everywhere by the Bahutu. In the northwest sheep are raised in large numbers. I was presented with my first sheep on the route between Nyanza and Mulera, at the Nyawarongo ferry. One sees individual sheep everywhere. They are used for sacrificial purposes.

232 In this discussion of animal husbandry we must say a word about castration. This operation is familiar to the people of Ruanda and is performed chiefly on goats. It is said that the castration of cattle is forbidden by the king, but it is rumored that the cows one is forced to return are secretly cauterized in revenge. Hunting dogs are also castrated. It is said, too, that enemies of
[304] the king are castrated.

224 Hunting. Hunting as the chief means of obtaining food is practiced only by the Batwa. They live on the yield of the hunt,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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233 in the villages near their fields; but they had to bring food daily to the place where their husbands were, for even the herdsmen did not live entirely upon milk. Cattle were never kept inside the fences enclosing the dwellings of the king or other owners, but the herdsmen had to bring milk after each milking to the owner of the herd even if the cattle were at some distance.

The men regarded their cows as their own and might sell [422] or exchange them as they thought fit, but the king claimed all the cattle in the country and might take any he wanted from any herd. The value of a cow was twenty goats and of [435] a bull fifteen goats, while a goat was valued at five hoes. A woman who had been captured in war might be restored to [727] her tribe for a payment of three cows for a woman of the better class and six goats for a peasant.

When a cow was thought to be about to calve at an incon- 233 venient time during a journey or while grazing at such a 825 distance that the calf would have to be carried home, the herdsmen tied a little grass round its horns close to the head and this was said to retard the birth. When a cow which had calved did not cast the after-birth, the first milk was placed upon a stool for a time and then poured away. If the cow recovered without parting with the after-birth, the owner might not drink the milk from it but left it to the herdsmen until the cow had another calf and the placenta came away. For fourteen days after a cow calved, the milk was drunk by the herdsmen or by children and not by the owner of the cow. [784] No taboo was attached to the navel cord of calves.

231 Goats were preferred to sheep, but both were reared in 437 large numbers, not so much for meat as in order to exchange them for cows and other necessary articles. Most men also [651] kept bees, for honey was demanded as a tax by the king and [237] was an article of food among all classes. A large pot of honey with the comb was sold for a goat, and a small pot of refined honey for two hoes.

AGRICULTURE

241 Each wife possessed a plot of land on which she raised crops to supply the family with food. Among the better classes the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet. The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[26] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[26] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.